

THE TRUE AMERICAN.

Devoted to Universal Liberty; Gradual

Emancipation in Kentucky; Literature; Agriculture; Elevation

of Labor, Morally and Politically; Commercial Intelligence, &c. &c.

NUMBER 6.

VOLUME I.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY
WILLIAM L. NEALE,
On North Main-street, three doors above the
corner, at Two Dollars and Fifty Cents per an-
num, in advance, or THREE DOLLARS if not paid
within three months.
Five copies will be furnished to a club for
Ten Dollars, or Ten copies for Twenty Dollars.
Subscriptions out of Kentucky payable irretriev-
ably in advance.

ADVERTISING.
One square, or less, three insertions, \$1 50
For each subsequent insertion, 25
One square, three insertions, 4 00
One square, six months, 7 00
One square, twelve months, 12 00
The very large and increasing circulation of
the TRUE AMERICAN, in this and other States, will
render it a better advertising medium than any
paper in the city.

POETRY.

From the Old Fellow's Gem.
FRIENDSHIP, LOVE AND TRUTH.

There is a star that beams on high,
With lovely, tender rays,
That lights the path of generous worth,
And speeds a brighter day.

There is a tie, a golden chain,
That binds with stronger hand,
Than iron shackles of the cell,
Or all the arts of man.

There is a gem, a pearl of worth,
As lasting as the skies;
More dazzling than the gems of earth,
Its splendor never dies.

From the United States Journal.

MY HOME.

My home is where the ocean's surf
Rolls glittering on the sunny shore,
Where rivers baffle the flowery turf,
Or down the craggy mountain roar.

My home is where the eagle spreads
His wings for heaven's unbounded dome;
Where man in conscious freedom treads
The soil he proudly calls his own.

My home is where the red man trod
In all his untaught majesty,
Ere the lone Pilgrims looked to God
While on the wide and stormy sea.

My home is where the pilgrim's tread
With holy anthems fills the air,
And by their prowess won the land
From savage foes—my home is there.

Where freedom is man's noblest dove,
Where rights give might to every one;
Where Liberty's a beacon tower
Whose flame is watch'd by sire and son.

Where woman's heart's as warm as fire,
And man's no'er own'd a wish to roam;
Where all things strive to be free,
Columbia! thou'rt the patriot's home!

Land of the free!—the pilgrim's pride!
The exile's hope—the patriot's home!
Thy banner flutters far and wide,
A rainbow o'er the ocean's foam.

Be ever free—be ever true,
Thy daughters virtuous and fair;
While freedom's star shines o'er the west,
I'll proudly say—my home is there.

J. H. H.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

ADDRESS

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES,
ADOPTED BY THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION
AT CINCINNATI, JUNE, 1845.

[CONCLUDED.]

We propose to effect this by repealing all
legislation, and discontinuing all action
in favor of slavery, at home and abroad;
by prohibiting the practice of slaveholding
in all places of exclusive national jurisdic-
tion, in the District of Columbia, in Ameri-
can vessels upon the seas, in forts, arsen-
als, navy yards; by forbidding the employ-
ment of slaves upon any public work; by
adopting resolutions in Congress declaring
that slaveholding in all States created out
of national territories, as unconstitutional,
and recommending to the others the im-
mediate adoption of measures for its extir-
pation within their respective limits; and by
electing and appointing to public station
such men, and only such men as openly
avow our principles, and will honestly car-
ry out our measures.

The constitutionality of this line of ac-
tion cannot be successfully impeached.—
That it will terminate, if steadily pursued,
in the utter overthrow of slavery at no very
distant day, none will doubt. We adopt it be-
cause we desire, through and by the Con-
stitution, to attain the great ends which the
Constitution itself proposes, the establish-
ment of justice, and the security of liberty.
We insist not here upon the opinions of
some, that no slaveholding in any State of
the Union is compatible with a true and
just construction of the Constitution; nor
upon the opinions of others, that the De-
claration of Independence setting forth the
creed of the nation, that all men are created
equal and endowed by their Creator with
an inalienable right of liberty, must be re-
garded as the Common Law of America,
antecedent to and unimpaired by the Con-
stitution; nor need we appeal to the doc-
trine that slaveholding is contrary to the
Supreme Law of the Supreme Ruler, pre-
ceding and controlling all human law, and
binding upon all legislatures in the enact-
ment of laws, and upon all courts in the
administration of justice. We are willing
to take our stand upon propositions gener-
ally conceded;—that slaveholding is con-
trary to natural right and justice; that it
can subsist nowhere without the sanction
and aid of positive legislation; that the
Constitution expressly prohibits Congress
from depriving any person of liberty with-
out due process of law. From these propo-
sitions we deduce, by logical inference,
the doctrines upon which we insist. We
deprecate all discord among the States; but
do not dread discord so much as we do the
subjugation of the States and the people to
the yoke of the Slaveholding Oligarchy.

We deprecate the dissolution of the Union,
as a dreadful political calamity; but if any
of the States shall prefer dissolution to sub-
mission to the Constitutional action of the
people on the subject of slavery, we cannot
purchase their alliance by the sacrifice of
inalienable rights and the abandonment of
sacred duties.

Such, fellow-citizens, are our views,
principles, and objects. We invite your
co-operation in the great work of deliver-
ing our beloved country from the evils of
slavery. No question half so important as
that of slavery, engages the attention of
the American people. All others, in fact,
dwindle into insignificance in comparison
with it. The question of slavery is, and
until it shall be settled, must be, the para-
mount moral and political question of the
day. We, at least, so regard it; and, so
regarding it, must subordinate every other
question to it.

It follows as a necessary consequence,
that we cannot yield our political support to
any party which does not take our ground
upon this question.

What then is the position of the political
parties of this country in relation to this

subject? One of these parties professes to
be guided by the most liberal principles.—
"Equal rights for all men," "inflexible opposi-
tion to oppression," are its favorite mottoes.
It claims to be the true friend of popular gov-
ernment, and assumes the name of democ-
ratic. Among its members are doubtless
many who cherish its professions as sacred
principles, and believe that the great cause
of Freedom and Progress is to be served
by promoting its ascendancy. But when we
compare the maxims of the so-called
democratic party with its acts, its hypocrisy
is plainly revealed. Among its leading
members we find the principal slavehold-
ers, the Chiefs of the Oligarchy. It has
never scrupled to sacrifice the rights of the
people to the demands of the Slave Power.

Like Sir Porthos, McScyphont, its north-
ern leaders believe that the great secret of
advancement lies in "howling wolf." No
servility seems too gross, no self-degradation
too great, to be submitted to. They think
themselves well rewarded, if the unity of
the Party can be preserved, and the spoils
of victory secured. If, in the distribu-
tion of these spoils, they content themselves
with the reflection that little is better than
nothing, they declaim loudly against all
monopolies, all special privileges, all en-
croachments on personal rights, all distinc-
tions founded upon birth, and compensate
themselves for these efforts of virtue by
practising the vilest oppression upon all
their countrymen in whose complexions the
slightest trace of African derivation can be
detected.

Profoundly do we, we rever the maxims of
True Democracy; they are identical with
those of True Christianity, in relation to
the rights and duties of men as citizens.
And our reverence for Democratic Prin-
ciples is the precise measure of our detesta-
tion of the policy of those who are per-
mitted to shape the action of the Democratic
Party. Political concert with that party
under its present leadership, is, therefore,
plainly impossible. Nor do we entertain
the hope, which many, no doubt, honestly
cherish, that the professed principles of the
Party at length bring it right upon the
question of slavery. Its professed prin-
ciples have been the same for near half a
century, and the subjection of the party to
the slave power is, at this moment, as com-
plete as ever. There is no prospect of any
change for the better, until these democrats
whose hearts are really possessed by a gen-
erous love of liberty for all, and by an honest
hatred of oppression, shall manfully as-
sert their individual independence, and re-
fuse their support to the panders of slavery.

There is another party which boasts that
it is conservative in its character. Its
watchwords are "a tariff," "a banking sys-
tem," "the Union as it is." Among its
members, also, are many sincere opponents
of slavery; and the party itself, seeking aid
in the attainment of power, and anxious to
carry its favorite measures, and bound to-
gether by no such professed principles as
secure the unity of the Democratic Party,
often concedes much to their anti-slavery
views. It is not unwilling, in those States
and parts of States where anti-slavery sen-
timent prevails, to assume an anti-slavery
attitude and claim to be anti-slavery par-
ty. Like the Democratic party, however,
the Whig party maintains alliances with
the slaveholders. It proposes, in its national
conventions, no action against slavery. It
has no anti-slavery article in its national
creed. Among its leaders and champions
in Congress and out of Congress, none are
so honored and trusted as slaveholders in
practice and in principle. Whatever the
Whig party, therefore, concedes to anti-
slavery must be reluctantly conceded. Its
natural position is conservative. Its natu-
ral line of action is to maintain things as
they are. Its natural bond of union is re-
gard for interests rather than for rights.
There are, doubtless, zealous opponents of
slavery, who are also zealous Whigs; but
they are not the general confidence of this
party; they are under the ban of the slave-
holders; and in any practical anti-slavery
movement, as, for example, the repeal of
the laws which sanction slaveholding in the
District of Columbia, would meet the deter-
mined opposition of a large and most influ-
ential section of the party, not because the
people of the free States would be opposed
to the measure, but because it would be dis-
pleasing to the oligarchy and fatal to party
unity. We are constrained to think, there-
fore, that all expectation of efficient anti-
slavery action from the Whig party as an
organization, will prove delusive. Nor do we
perceive any probability of a change in its
organization, separating its anti-slavery
from its pro-slavery constituents, and leav-
ing the former in possession of the name
and influence of the party. With the Whig
party, therefore, at present, we have no ally,
it is as impossible for us whose mottoes are
"Equal Rights and Fair Wages for all," and
"the Union as it should be," to act in alli-
ance and concert, as it is for us to act with
the so-called Democratic party. We cannot
choose between these parties for the sake
of any local or partial advantage, without
sacrificing consistency, self-respect, and
mutual confidence. While we say this we
are bound to add that were either of these
parties to disappoint our expectations, and
adopt into its national creed as its leading
articles, the principles which we regard as
fundamental, and enter upon a course of
unflinching and earnest action against the
system of slavery, we should not hesitate, re-
garding as we do the question of slavery as
the paramount question of our day and na-
tion, to give to it our cordial and vigorous
support, until slavery shall be more.

With what party, then, shall we act? Or
shall we act with none? Act, in some way,
we must; for the possession of the right of
suffrage, the right of electing our own law-
makers and rulers, imposes upon us the cor-
responding duty of voting for men who will
carry out the views which we deem of pa-
ramount importance and obligation. Act to-
gether we must; for upon the questions
which we regard as the most vital we are
fully agreed, and we must act then; act to-
gether, and act against slavery and oppres-
sion. Acting thus, we necessarily act as a
party; for what is a party, but a body of
citizens, acting together politically, in good
faith, upon common principles, for a com-
mon object? And if there be a party al-
ready in existence, animated by the same
motives and aiming at the same results as
ourselves, we must act with and in that party.

That there is such a party, is well known.
It is the Liberty Party of the United States.
Its principles, measures and objects we cordially
approve. It founds itself upon the
great cardinal principle of true Democracy
and of true Christianity, the brotherhood
of the Human Family. It avows its pur-
pose to wage implacable war against slave-

holding as the direct form of oppression,
and then against every other species of ty-
ranny and injustice. It views on the sub-
ject of slavery in this country, and, in the
main, the same as those which we have set
forth in this address. Its members agree
to regard the extinction of slavery as the most
important end which can, at this time,
be proposed to political action; and they
agree to differ as to other questions of mi-
nor importance, such as those of trade and
currency, believing that these can be satis-
factorily disposed of, when the question of
slavery shall be settled, and that, until then
they cannot be satisfactorily disposed of at
all.

The rise of such a party as this was an-
ticipated long before its actual organization,
by the single-hearted and patriotic Charles
Follen, a German by birth, but a true Ameri-
can by adoption and in spirit. "If there
ever is to be in this country," he said in
1836, "a party that shall take its name
and character, not from particular liberal
measures or popular men, but from its un-
compromising and consistent adherence to
Freedom—a truly liberal and thoroughly
republican party, it must direct its first de-
cided effort against the grossest form of
the most complete manifestation of oppression;
and, having taken anti-slavery ground, it
must carry out the principle of Liberty in
all its consequences. It must support every
measure conducive to the greatest possible
individual and social, moral, intellectual,
religious and political freedom, whether
that measure be brought forward by inco-
sistent slaveholders or consistent free-
men. It must embrace the whole sphere of
human action, and opposing the slightest
liberal and anti-republican tendency,
and concentrating its whole force
and influence against slavery itself, in com-
parison with which every other species of
tyranny is tolerable, and by which every
other is strengthened and justified."

Thus wrote Charles Follen in 1836. It
is impossible to express better the want
which enlightened lovers of liberty felt of
a real Democratic party in the country.—
Democrat in name only, but in deed
and truth. In this want, thus felt, the Lib-
erty Party had its origin, and so long as
this want remains otherwise unsatisfied,
the Liberty party must exist; not as a mere
Abolition party, but as a truly Democratic
party, which aims at the extinction of slav-
ery, because slaveholding is inconsistent
with Democratic principles; aims at it, not
as an ultimate end, but as the most impor-
tant present object; as a great and neces-
sary step in the work of reform; as an illu-
strative era in the advancement of society,
to be wrought out by its action and instru-
mentality. The Liberty party of 1845 is,
in truth, the Liberty party of 1778 revived.
It is more: It is the party of Advancement
and Freedom, which has, in every age, and
with varying success, fought the battles of
Human Liberty, against the party of False
Conservation and Slavery.

And now, fellow-citizens, permit us to
ask, whether you will not give to this party
the aid of your votes, and of your counsels?
Its aims are lofty, and noble, and pacific;
its means are simple and unobjectionable.
Why should it not have your co-operation?

Are you already an slavery man? Let
us ask; is it not better to act with those
with whom you agree on the fundamental
point of slavery, and swell the vote and
augment the moral force of anti-slavery,
rather than to act with those with whom
you agree only on minor points, and thus,
for the time, swell a vote and augment an
influence which must be counted against the
Liberty movement, in the vain hope
that those with whom you thus act now,
will, at some indefinite future period, act
with you for the overthrow of slavery? There
are, perhaps, nearly equal numbers of
you in each of the pro-slavery parties,
honestly opposed to each other on questions
of trade, currency, and extension of terri-
tory, but of one mind on the great question
of slavery; and you, you suffer yourselves
to be played off against each other by the
party which aims at making eternal hos-
tility to the great measure of positive action
against slavery, which seems to you and is
of paramount importance? What can you
gain by this course? What may you not
gain by laying your minor differences on
the altar of duty, and uniting as one man,
in one party, against slavery? Then every
vote would tell for freedom, and would en-
courage the friends to fresh efforts. Now
every vote, whether you intend it so or not,
tells for slavery, and operates as a discour-
agement and hindrance to those who are
contending for Equal Rights. Let us en-
treat you not to persevere in your suicidal,
fraternal course; but to renounce at once
all pro-slavery alliances, and join the friends
of Liberty. It is not the question now
whether a Liberty party shall be organized;
it is organized and in the field. The ques-
tion is, the only question, is, is it as im-
possible for us whose mottoes are "Equal
Rights and Fair Wages for all," and "the
Union as it should be," to act in alli-
ance and concert, as it is for us to act with
the so-called Democratic party. We cannot
choose between these parties for the sake
of any local or partial advantage, without
sacrificing consistency, self-respect, and
mutual confidence. While we say this we
are bound to add that were either of these
parties to disappoint our expectations, and
adopt into its national creed as its leading
articles, the principles which we regard as
fundamental, and enter upon a course of
unflinching and earnest action against the
system of slavery, we should not hesitate, re-
garding as we do the question of slavery as
the paramount question of our day and na-
tion, to give to it our cordial and vigorous
support, until slavery shall be more.

With what party, then, shall we act? Or
shall we act with none? Act, in some way,
we must; for the possession of the right of
suffrage, the right of electing our own law-
makers and rulers, imposes upon us the cor-
responding duty of voting for men who will
carry out the views which we deem of pa-
ramount importance and obligation. Act to-
gether we must; for upon the questions
which we regard as the most vital we are
fully agreed, and we must act then; act to-
gether, and act against slavery and oppres-
sion. Acting thus, we necessarily act as a
party; for what is a party, but a body of
citizens, acting together politically, in good
faith, upon common principles, for a com-
mon object? And if there be a party al-
ready in existence, animated by the same
motives and aiming at the same results as
ourselves, we must act with and in that party.

That there is such a party, is well known.
It is the Liberty Party of the United States.
Its principles, measures and objects we cordially
approve. It founds itself upon the
great cardinal principle of true Democracy
and of true Christianity, the brotherhood
of the Human Family. It avows its pur-
pose to wage implacable war against slave-

holding as the direct form of oppression,
and then against every other species of ty-
ranny and injustice. It views on the sub-
ject of slavery in this country, and, in the
main, the same as those which we have set
forth in this address. Its members agree
to regard the extinction of slavery as the most
important end which can, at this time,
be proposed to political action; and they
agree to differ as to other questions of mi-
nor importance, such as those of trade and
currency, believing that these can be satis-
factorily disposed of, when the question of
slavery shall be settled, and that, until then
they cannot be satisfactorily disposed of at
all.

national offices of honor and trust? What
assiduity in negotiations for the reclama-
tion of slaves, cast, in the Providence of
God, on foreign shores, and for the exten-
sion of the markets of cotton and rice and
tobacco, and of men? What zeal on the
judicial bench in wresting the Constitu-
tion and the law to the purposes of slave-
holders, by shielding kidnappers from mer-
ited punishment, and paralyzing State leg-
islation for the security of personal liberty?
What readiness in legislation to serve
the interests of the Oligarchy by uncon-
stitutional provisions for the recovery of fu-
gitive slaves and by laying heavy duties on
slave-labor products, thereby compelling
non-slaveholding laborers to support slave-
holders in idleness and luxury? When shall
these things have an end? How long shall
servile endurance be protracted? It is for
you, fellow citizens, to determine. The
shameful partiality to slaveholders and slav-
ery which has so long prevailed and now
prevails in the administration of the Gov-
ernment will cease when you determine
that it shall cease, and act accordingly.

Are you non-slaveholders of the slave
States? Let us ask you to consider what
interest you have in the system of slavery.
What benefits does it confer on you? You
constitute the vast majority of the popula-
tion of the slave States. The aggregate
votes of all the slaveholders do not exceed
one hundred and fifty thousand, while the
votes of the non-slaveholders will number
at least six hundred thousand, supposing
each adult male to possess a vote. It is
clear, therefore, that the continuance of slav-
ery depends on your suffrages. We re-
quest, therefore, that you determine what
policy you will support in supporting
the system?

Slavery diminishes your population and
hinders your prosperity. Compare New
York with Virginia, Ohio with Kentucky,
Arkansas with Michigan, Florida with Lo-
uisiana. Need we say more?

It prevents general education. It is not
the interest of slaveholders that poor non-
slaveholders should be educated. The cen-
sus of 1840 reveals the astounding facts
that more than one seventh of the popu-
lation in the slave States are un-
able to read or write, while not a hundred
and fiftieth part of the same class in the
free States are in the same condition, and
that there are more than twelve times as
many scholars at public charge in the free
States as in the slave States.

It paralyzes your industry and enter-
prise. The census of 1840 also discloses
the fact that the free States, with two mil-
lions and a quarter inhabitants more, and
ninety eight millions of acres less than the
slave States, produce annually, in value,
from Mines, thirty three millions dollars
more; from the Forests, eight millions
dollars more; from Fisheries, nine millions
dollars more; from Agriculture forty mil-
lions dollars more; from Manufactures,
one hundred and fifty millions dollars
more. At the same time the capital in-
vested in Commerce by the free States ex-
ceeds the capital similarly invested in the
slave States by more than one hundred mil-
lions of dollars; and the tonnage of the former
exceeds the tonnage of the latter by more
than a thousand millions tons! This enor-
mous disparity, which will strike every
eye, and which, when it is considered, that
much of the capital employed in the
slave States is owned in the free, can be as-
cribed to no cause except slavery.

It degrades and dishonors labor. In
what country did an Aristocracy ever care
for the poor? When did slaveholders ever
attempt to improve the condition of the
free laborer? "White negroes" is the con-
temptuous term by which Robert Wick-
liffe, of Kentucky, designated the free la-
borers of his State. He saw no distinction
between them and slaves, except that the
former may be converted into voters.—
Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina,
teaches that, "so long as the laborer has
the pride, the knowledge or the aspirations
of a freeman, he is unfitted for his situa-
tion." And he who labors under the
yoke of the "white negro," would be ridi-
culous to attempt to impart "a cultivated
understanding or fine feeling." Governor
McDuffie, in a message to the Legislature
of South Carolina, went so far as to say
that, "the institution of domestic slavery
supercedes the necessity for an order of
nobility, and the other appendages of an
hereditary system of Government." Of
course the slaveholders are the noble, and
you, the non-slaveholders, are the ignoble,
of this social system.

Slavery corrupts the religion and de-
stroys the morals of a community. We
need not repeat Jefferson's strong testi-
mony. In a message to the Legislature of
Kentucky, some years since, the Governor
said, "We long to see the day when the
law will assert its majesty, and the top
wanton destruction of life, and the destruc-
tion of the property of the citizen, which
occurs within the jurisdiction of this
Commonwealth." And the Governor of
Alabama, in a message to the Legislature
of that State, said, "Why do we hear of
stabbing and shootings, almost daily, in
some portion or other of our State." A
Judge in New Orleans, in an address on
the opening of his Court, observed, "Without
some powerful and certain remedy our
streets will become butcheries, overflowing
with the blood of our citizens." These
terrible pictures are drawn by home pen-
cils. Can communities prosper when re-
ligion and morality furnish no stronger re-
straints on violence and passion.

Slavery is a source of most deplorable
weakness. What a pang is spread by the
bare suggestion of a servile insurrection!
And how completely are the slaveholding
States at the mercy of any invading force
who will raise the standard of emancipa-
tion! In the Revolutionary War, accord-
ing to the Secret Journals of Congress,
South Carolina was "unable to make any
effective efforts with militia, by reason of
the great proportion of the citizens neces-
sary to remain at home to prevent insur-
rection among the negroes, and to prevent
the desertion of them to the enemy." We
need not say that if the danger of insur-
rection being similar, tenfold greater now.

Slavery seeks to deprive non-slavehold-
ers of political power. In Virginia and
South Carolina especially, has this policy
been most steadily and successfully pur-
sued. In South Carolina the political pow-
er of the State is lodged in the great slave-
holding Districts by the Constitution, and
to make assurance doubly sure, it is pro-
vided, in that instrument, that no person
can be a member of the Legislature unless
he owns five hundred acres of land, and ten
slaves, or an equivalent in additional land.
The right of voting for electors of Presi-
dent and Vice President is, in South Caro-
lina, confined to members of the Legisla-
ture; consequently in that State no non-

slaveholder can have a voice in the selec-
tion of the First and Second Officers of
the Republic. In Virginia the slave popu-
lation is considered the basis of political
power, and the preponderance of represen-
tation is given to those districts in which
there is the largest slave population. The
House of Representatives consists of one
hundred and thirty four members, of whom
fifty six are chosen by the counties west of
the Blue Ridge, and seventy eight by the
counties east. The Senate consists of
thirty two members, of whom thirteen are
assigned to the western, and nineteen to the
eastern counties. Already the free white
population west of the Blue Ridge ex-
ceeds the same class east in number, but
no change in the population can affect this
distribution of political power, designed to
secure and preserve the ascendancy of the
slaveholders, who chiefly reside east of the
Ridge, so long as the Constitution remains
unchanged.

These, non-slaveholders of the slave
States, are the fruits of slavery. You
surely can have no reason to love a system
which entails such consequences. Yet it
lives by your sufferance. You have only
to speak the word at the ballot-box, and
the system falls. Will you be restrained from
speaking that word by the consideration
that the enslaved will be benefited as well
as yourselves; or by the selfish expectation
that you may yourselves become slavehold-
ers hereafter, and so be admitted into the
ranks of the Aristocracy? If such consid-
erations withhold you, we bid you beware
lest you prepare a bitter retribution for your-
selves, and find your mortification and
disadvantage in ruin to your cause. To act
with any party or to vote for the candi-
dates of any party which recognizes the
friends and supporters of slavery as mem-
bers in full standing, because in particular
places and under particular circumstances,
it may make large professions of anti-
slavery, is to commit political suicide.
Unswerving fidelity to our principles; un-
alterable determination to carry those prin-
ciples to the ballot box at every election;
inflexible and unanimous support of those
and those only who are true to those prin-
ciples are the conditions of our ultimate
triumph. Let these conditions be fulfilled,
and our triumph is certain. The indica-
tions of its coming multiply on every
hand. The glorious trump of Freedom
breaks already the gloomy silence of Slav-
ery in Kentucky, and its echoes are
heard throughout the land. A spirit of en-
quiry and of action is awakened every-
where. The assemblage of the Conven-
tion, whose voice we utter, is in itself an
auspicious omen. Gathered from the North
and the South, and the East and West, we
here unite our counsels, and consolidate
our action. We are resolved to go for-
ward, knowing that our cause is just
and trusting in God. We ask you to go for-
ward with us; invoking His blessing upon
his Son to redeem mankind. With Him
are the issues of all events. He can
and He will disappoint all the devices of
oppression. He can, and we trust He will,
make our instrumental efficiency for the
redemption of our land from Slavery, and
for the fulfillment of our Father's Promise
in behalf of Freedom, before Him and before
the World.

We would appeal, also, to slaveholders
themselves. We would enter at once with-
in the lines of selfishness and mercenary
motives, and appeal to your consciences
and your hearts. You know that the sys-
tem of slaveholding is wrong. Whatever
theologians may teach you and cite scrip-
ture for, you know—all of you who claim
freedom for yourselves and your children
as a birthright precious beyond all price,
and inalienable as life—that no person can
rightfully hold another as a slave. Your
courts in their judicial decisions, and your
books of common law in their elementary
lessons, rise far above the prospects of
humanity. We are not your enemies.
We do not pretend to any superior virtue;
or that we, being in your circumstances,
would act differently from you. But we
are all fellow-citizens of the same great
republic. We feel slaveholding to be a
dreadful incubus upon us, dishonoring us
in the eyes of foreign nations, nullifying
the force of our example, of free institu-
tions, holding us back from a glorious ca-
reer of prosperity and renown, sowing
broadcast the seeds of discord, division,
dissension; and we are anxious for its ex-
tinction. With Jefferson, we tremble for
our country when we "remember that God
is just, and that his justice cannot sleep for-
ever." With Washington we believe
"that there is but one proper and effectual
mode by which the extinction of slavery
may be accomplished, and that is, by leg-
islative authority; and this, so far as our
suffrages will go, shall not be wanting."

We would not invade the Constitution;
but we would have the Constitution rig-
tly construed according to its true intent
and spirit. We would not dictate the
mode in which slavery should be attacked
in particular States; but we would have it
removed at once from all places under the
exclusive jurisdiction of the national gov-
ernment, and, also, have immediate mea-
sures taken, in accordance with constitu-
tional rights and the principles of justice, for
its removal from each State by State au-
thority. In this work we ask your co-opera-
tion. Shall we ask it in vain? Are you
not convinced that the most absolute mo-
nopoly of the offices and the patronage of
the government, and the control of the
control of its legislation and executive and
judicial administration, by slaveholders,
and for the purposes of slavery, is unjust
to the non-slaveholders of the country?—
Can you blame us for saying that we will
no longer sanction it? Are you not satis-
fied, to use the language of one of your
own number, "that slavery is a cancer, a
slow consuming cancer, a withering pesti-
lence, an unmitigated curse." And can
you wonder that we should be anxious, by
all just and honorable and constitutional
means, to effect its extinction in our respec-
tive States and to confine it to its constitu-
tional limits? Are you not fully aware
that the great inconsistency of slaveholding
with our professed principles astounds the
world, and makes the Name of our Coun-
try a mockery, and the Name of Liberty a by-
word? And can you regret that we should
exert ourselves to the utmost to redeem
our glorious land and her institutions from
just reproach, and, by illustrious acts of
mercy and justice, place ourselves, once
more, in the van of Human Progress and
Advancement?

Finally, we ask all true friends of Lib-
erty, of Impartial, Universal Liberty, to be
firm and steadfast. The little handful of
voters, who, in 1840, wearied of compro-
mising expediency, and despairing of anti-
slavery action by pro-slavery parties, raised
anew the standard of the Declaration,
and manfully resolved to vote right then,
and to vote for Freedom, already swell
to a Great Army, strong enough, num-
erically, to decide the issue of any na-
tional contest, and stronger still in the pow-
er of its pure and elevating principles.—
And if these principles be sound, which we
doubt not, and if the question of slavery be,
as we verily believe it is, the GREAT
QUESTION of our day and nation, it is a li-
bel upon the intelligence, the patriotism,
and the virtue of the American people to
say that there is no hope that a majority
will array themselves under our banner.
Let it not be said that we are factious or
impracticable. We adhere to our views

because we believe them to be sound, prac-
ticable and vitally important. We have
already said that we are ready to prove our
devotion to our principles by co-operating
with either of the other two great Ameri-
can Parties, which will openly and honest-
ly, in State and National Conventions,
avow our doctrines and adopt our mea-
sures, until slavery shall be finally over-
thrown. We do not indeed expect any
such adoption or avowal by either of those
parties, because we are well aware that
they fear more, at present, from the loss of
slaveholding support than from the loss of
anti-slavery co-operation. But we can be
satisfied with nothing less, for we will com-
promise no longer; and, therefore, must of
necessity, maintain our separate organiza-
tion as the True Democratic Party of the
country; trust our cause to the patronage of
the people and the blessing of God.

Carry then, Friends of Freedom and
Free Labor, your principles to the ballot
box. Let no difficulties discourage you,
no dangers daunt, no delays dishearten you.
Your solemn vow, that Slavery must per-
ish, is registered in Heaven. Renew that
vow! Think of the martyrs of Truth and
Freedom; think of the millions of the En-
slaved; think of the other millions of the
oppressed and degraded Free; and renew
that vow! Be not tempted from the path
of political duty. Vote for no man, act
with no party, politically connected with
the supporters of Slavery. Vote for no
man, act with no party, unwilling to carry
out the principles set forth in this address.
To compromise for any partial or tempo-
rary advantage is ruin to our cause. To act
with any party or to vote for the candi-
dates of any party which recognizes the
friends and supporters of slavery as mem-
bers in full standing, because in particular
places and under particular circumstances,
it may make large professions of anti-
slavery, is to commit political suicide.
Unswerving fidelity to our principles; un-
alterable determination to carry those prin-
ciples to the ballot box at every election;
inflexible and unanimous support of those
and those only who are true to those prin-
ciples are the conditions of our ultimate
triumph. Let these conditions be fulfilled,
and our triumph is certain. The indica-
tions of its coming multiply on every
hand. The glorious trump of Freedom
breaks already the gloomy silence of Slav-
ery in Kentucky, and its echoes are
heard throughout the land. A spirit of en-
quiry and of action is awakened every-
where

For the True American
NO. II.

Can serve my turn? Forgive me my foul murder!
That cannot be; since I am still possessed
Of those effects for which I did the murder,
My crown, mine own ambition and my queen,
Mau me be pardoned and retain the offence!"

can, by the utmost exertion, place himself in a situation to obtain a livelihood by honest means, he would be no longer excusable—it would not do for him to make his thefts habitual, and allege in justification that it is easier to steal than to labor.— And if slavery be wrong in itself, can we avoid a share in the guilt of its continuance, by alleging that it has been entailed upon us without our consent, and that there are great difficulties in the way of its abolition, whilst we calmly fold our arms, without making a single effort to remove or overcome those difficulties, and without even examining their nature or extent? Every intelligent and conscientious man must answer, no.— Well may we exclaim.

inquiry and silence discussion. The wound is too sore to be probed, though that be the only hope of its cure—whilst the gangrene and corruption are spreading towards the very vitals with fearful progress, men prefer to trust to the hopes of time, false as they must feel them to be, rather than submit to the comparatively trifling pain and inconvenience of a certain and speedy remedy.

Christ may by force, compel his fellow christian, "cursed with a skin not colored like his own," to labor for him without reward—that the same follower of Christ may without sin, take the wife and children of his fellow christian and sell them, a thousand miles apart, into a hopeless and returnless slavery—that it is right to abolish the

into the fish-pond of his master as food for his fish—and all this, the argument from the Bible must justify, or it proves nothing. Can it be that the Bible, whose prime command is, "do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you"—which was sent by Him, who declares himself "no respecter of persons," and who sought communion with men on earth with the lowly and

to base our system of slavery upon it. The Bible and slavery are as opposite as light and darkness. Kings may seek in the Bible for a divine right to their thrones with the same hope of making out a plausible title, but let the advocate of slavery shun it as he would his own condemnation.

Yet strange as it may seem, and it is "passing strange,"—learned divines (few of them, to the

The historian of the Spanish conquests, regarded by us as so horrible, finds some palliation in the conduct of the conquerors, in the fact that in the unenlightened civilization of that age, it was honestly believed by the church, and by every true son of the church, to be, not only the right, but the duty of christian kings to conquer the heathen and reduce them by force to the true religion.

For the True American.
FAYETTE COUNTY, JUNE 28, 1845.
MR. EDITOR:—Although the "True American" is more particularly devoted to the political bearing of slavery, yet its moral character, it is believed, will claim a share of your attention. Perhaps the great majority of slaveholders regard the institution of slavery as having received the sanc-

to worship God, and acknowledge the claims of Christianity, have sanction of Christ and his Apostles, for these things existed, uncondemned, under the eyes of the Apostles, in the bloody reign of Nero. That Christ sanctioned the persecution and death of his faithful worshippers no one will pretend. The Bible doctrine of slavery is clearly defined by an able writer of the present day in the

measure. But we know that no great good was ever achieved without strenuous efforts; and that such efforts have always been subjected to reproachful imputations. We must, therefore, patiently submit to them; considering them, in our turn, as the ebullitions of heedless passion and un-

the next day or generation. They will come fast enough for permanence, and all in God's appointed time. The world was not made in six astronomical days, but in six very long geological periods; and man

air of prudery, now clothed in gay attire, and adorned with their finely contrasted blossoms present a rare object of elegance. At the extremity of this grand avenue, two or three miles before us, relieved

For the True American.

air of prudery, now clothed in gay attire, and adorned with their finely contrasted blossoms present a rare object of elegance. At the extremity of this grand avenue, two or three miles before us, relieved

In the centre of this place was erected the "mat de Cœgne." This is a pole of great length as can be obtained, and per-

complaint escape. Thus ended the day, in
and I close this description with my best
wishes for the health, long life, and pros-
perity of Louis Philippe, the wisest of
modern Kings. th
to

three months the right of mutual search
must cease." The convention is signed by
the Earl of Aberdeen, the Duc de Broglie,
the Count de St. Aulaire, and Dr. Lushington.

ROBERT BRUCE'S ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY.
Scots! who hae wi' Wallace bled,

KENTUCKY.—The Christian Intelligencer,
of Georgetown, Kentucky,) a Methodist

when the operation of this convention
about to commence, and from the follow-
ing three months the right of mutual search
must cease." The convention is signed by
the Earl of Aberdeen, the Duc de Broglie,
the Count de St. Aulaire, and Dr. Lushington.

France and England, and which has been signed by both parties, and the ratif

shall have recourse thereto without the sanction of the other. Notice will be given when the operation of this convention about to commence, and from the following three months the right of mutual search shall cease." The convention is signed by the Earl of Aberdeen, the Duc de Broglie, the Count de St. Aulaire, and Dr. Lushington.

